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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

H. Willard

A

VALEDICTORY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED

BEFORE THE *CINCINNATI* OF CONNECTICUT,

In HARTFORD, JULY 4th, 1804,

AT THE

DISSOLUTION OF THE SOCIETY.

By D^r^ HUMPHREYS,
LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE *UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*, AT THE COURT OF *MADRID*.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

BOSTON,
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A Valedictory Discourse, &c.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens!

ON this auspicious return of a day, so justly dear for having been distinguished by the declaration of Independence, it was a first duty to offer our most humble and hearty thanks to the Supreme Governor of the Universe, for this renewed instance of his goodness, and for all the inestimable favours which he hath vouchsafed to bestow upon us. That sacred duty performed, it is not unbecoming the character of men, who duly prize the blessings of civil society, under the safeguard of a good government, to interchange their congratulations on so happy an occasion. From the CINCINNATI the pleasing office has devolved on me, to felicitate this numerous and respectable assembly. May your happiness be completed by the attainment of the objects of your reasonable wishes! and may you assist in the celebration of many of these festivals, under such delightful circumstances, as will furnish encreasing motives for joy and gratitude! Before I proceed to make some general observations, on the best means of perpetuating the blessings of that Independence which we are convened to cel-

ebrate, permit me to perform the more appropriate business of the day, as it relates to the Society, on whose behalf I have the honour to address you.

My Friends of the Cincinnati!

You will naturally expect, that the Committee, appointed at your last annual Meeting, to apply to the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation for securing the benefits of the pecuniary part of your institution, should make a report of their proceedings. The Memorial, which has been printed, will render it unnecessary to enter into any detail, of the specific mode in which the subject was presented. Two of your committee now present (for one gentleman named on it, was then, as he is now, absent in a distant part of the Union) having been admitted at the bar of both houses, to sustain the *prayer* of the *petition* by such oral explanations and arguments as they might think proper to adduce, endeavoured, by all the fair representations in their power, to demonstrate the reasonableness and expediency of a compliance with it. In the House of Representatives the subject received the most dispassionate and liberal discussion; and leave was given by a very great majority to bring in a bill in form, according to the prayer of the Memorial. But unfortunately in the other house, where the manner in which the question was discussed, and the reasons which induced the decision, can-

not be so *distinctly known, it was negatived. We think it but just to add, that this was done upon mature deliberation; and after that Honorable Body had been assured, that their refusal to grant such protection to the fund of this society, as they were in the habit of granting to those of all other associations of citizens indiscriminately, must operate as its death-warrant. We have no ground for flattering ourselves with a hope that any other application would be more successful. What hope can we entertain of removing jealousy from the few minds, where, as in a congenial soil, it has been taking root for twenty years, while from all others it has been eradicated? That jealousy was the principal cause, why the majority in that house refused to concur in affording protection to the charitable part of your institution, cannot be doubted, and ought not to be concealed. For we will not pay so bad a compliment to their understandings, as to believe, whatever may have been pretended, they could have supposed, it was possible that your fund should be preserved much longer, for its original destination, without being protected by a legislative act. They must, then, have judged the evil to be apprehended from the Society's continuance would overbalance the good to be expected from the preservation of so considerable a fund, destined for so beneficent a purpose. It would have

* Notwithstanding the debates in this house are with closed doors, the principal reasons which were offered on this question have transpired.

been more frank and manly to have avowed the real inducements by which they were actuated. But, whatever they were, in the judgment of your Committee, it will be in vain to attempt to resist them any farther. The small majority in the upper house, had unquestionably a right to do what they have done. To acquiesce is our obligation.

When interrogated verbally in the House of Representatives, concerning the motion made at our last annual meeting for the dissolution of the Society; I answered, that I had been opposed to the measure then as premature—but that, if we should not succeed in our application for obtaining the legislative interference which we had solicited, I would give my suffrage for its annihilation, whenever the question should be again proposed. Such is my unalterable resolution. I cannot refrain from expressing a wish, that the fund may be so converted into annuities, by calculation on tontine principles, as to supply a comfortable maintainance for life, to those who have heretofore received a yearly allowance. Little pecuniary aid will now be required for the widows, since their children are now no longer a charge to them. Nothing farther is necessary for the orphans—they have arrived at manhood, and are capable of taking care of themselves. But a cheerful and decent competence should attend the closing days of every debilitated veteran, who

might otherwise have been left to the unfeeling neglect of a thankless world. At least, my small share shall never be withdrawn, for any other purpose. And, in case of our doing any thing definitive, a committee ought doubtless to be raised to ascertain the *amount* belonging to every grade of officers and to devise such arrangements as may be deemed expedient for disposing of it.

ERE I pass from this part of my discourse to other topics, I cannot but arrest my thought on the short periods for which these annuities will be wanted. I cannot but stop to reflect, if life be yet strong within us, how much the most robust are changed, since we served in the war, which ended by the acknowledgment of our Independence. After I had been fourteen years out of my country, on returning to it, well might we reciprocally perceive an alteration of features. Perhaps not a former particle of these changeable bodies remains. In what then can we recognize our identity? Consciousness still survives, while many of our companions, once healthful in appearance, and gay in deportment, have ceased from recollection in the forgetfulness of the grave. Of those who were most advanced in years, when they joined the army, few are now living. Where are your Generals, and do the Patriots of the Revolution live forever? Where is WASHINGTON, whom ye all had the satisfac-

tion of knowing—whom ye all loved, and venerated? Are not his ashes at *Mount Vernon*, and his fame extended over the habitable globe? Whatever difference in political opinions may have occasioned men to form different estimates of the characters of others, on his, all seemed to be uniform. I will not recal the profound affliction which you felt in common with your countrymen, when you first knew your *friend*, your *father*, was no more.

It must, however, be confessed, the apparent warmth of the government at the time of his death, to do honour to his memory, has since been strangely cooled. His glory is not diminished by his yet wanting the *Statue*, long since voted, and the *Mausoleum* more recently proposed in Congress. But is the number of republics, which have been guilty of the basest ingratitude to their best benefactors, still to be augmented? The cold disquisitions, bandied about in the National Legislature, on the quantity of marble, necessary to support and extend his reputation; and on the quantity of Dollars which the *public* Economies would allow to be taken for the purpose from the treasury, then overflowing, will be consigned to the faithful tablet of history. And fortunate will it be for those, who have refused or neglected to pay the tributary honours due to a Washington, if their names can escape execration, by being lost in oblivion.

It is not improper to pay a passing tribute of respect to the memories of other officers who have departed this life, since any annual oration has been delivered before your Society. I recollect to have seen on the obituary lists an account of the death of a Captain Butler, who behaved with the greatest gallantry in St. Clair's defeat, where his brother, the General, was slain; and where he saved another brother from the Savages :—Of Hamtramck, a bold volunteer, born in Canada, who devoted himself to the American cause through our Revolution; and since the peace, commanded a regiment on our regular establishment :—Of Strong, a respectable member of your Society, who likewise died in the command of a regiment at one of the western posts :—Of Walton White, a Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry, who served with considerable credit in the Southern Campaigns :—Of the veteran Bauman, a German by birth, and a valuable officer of artillery :—Of the brave Hand, a native of Ireland, bred in the British service, who was an excellent Tactician, and Adjutant General of our army at the close of the war :—And of the meritorious Morgan, a man illustrious for much vigour and perspicuity of mind, in a remarkably tall and well-proportioned body, who led a rifle company, through the desert to Quebec, at the commencement of hostilities; who was singularly useful in the Campaign of 1777,

in the capture of the British army at Saratoga; and who was honoured with a gold medal by Congress, for his distinguished conduct in defeating, with an inferior force, a select Corps of the enemy at the Cowpens. But who is there so young, as not to have heard the name and achievments of the gallant MORGAN?

AND shall we not commemorate with becoming distinction, the heroic death of the Rev. Dr. HITCHCOCK, Chaplain of the Rhode Island Brigade? He waited the approach of the king of terrors with truly christian fortitude; for he was strong in the faith of the religion which he professed. You remember him well, since the brigade to which he belonged, was often encamped in the *line* with yours. A few weeks before he breathed his last, I saw him pale and emaciated. Raising himself on his bed, he said—"I have but little time to live—I hope I am prepared to die—I sent for you to see you once more—to bid you farewell. We have passed many pleasant hours together—may we meet in a better world! and may Heaven bless, with its choicest benedictions, my friends and my Country!"—Utterance failed—But I seem still to feel the feeble grasp of the hand, that preluded the long silence which was to ensue.

Within the narrow circle of months measured by three or four waxing and waning moons—within the very view of this church, we have yet

to mourn the loss of another, and, to me, more intimate friend. Behold, from hence, the mansion, the hospitable mansion, where WADSWORTH lived! He was once the President of your Society. He was always the protector and the guardian of the widow, the fatherless, and the distressed. It is the least part of his eulogium to say, that he filled many of the most important *places of public life, with the highest applause. A WASHINGTON knew how to appreciate his worth. No man in this country, I am justified in asserting, was ever better acquainted with its resources, or the best mode of drawing them forth for the public use. His talents for and dispatch of business, were unrivalled. His services, at some periods of the war, incalculable—but he injured his constitution extremely, by his extraordinary exertions. In effect, by his patriotic exertions, he sacrificed his health, and brought on an early old age. I have known few men possessed of a more original genius—none of a kinder disposition, or more incorruptible integrity. His usefulness did not terminate with his military career. As a farmer, it is presumed, no person in New-England ever contributed more towards improving the breed of horses and other kinds of useful animals. To him the farmers contiguous to Connecticut River, are under great obligations, for the introduction of the Plaister of

* See Note (a)

Paris as a manure, as well as for several other improvements in rural economy. With the advantages of only a grammar-school education, his conceptions were so clear, his ideas so correct, and his explications so luminous, that he might justly be praised as one of our most enlightened and influential statesmen, replete with practical knowledge. In his social and domestic relations, as a friend, a husband, a brother, a parent, he transcended all praise. Long will his name be held in grateful remembrance by the inhabitants of this city. But no more will he be seen at their civic feasts, in the grove which he planted for them; and *where the festive board will this day be spread for many who now hear me. Yet there, perchance, when in times to come, they shall speak of him to their children, they will say—"a good man is gone from amongst us."—We, his brothers of the Cincinnati, when a few more years shall have mingled with the past, must follow. Then, while we, one by one, quit the scene to new actors, who will remain to weep for the last of us?

But let us avert our eyes from a perspective, which is perhaps surrounded with too many sorrowful images not to interrupt the pleasures of the day; and let us see what little good we can yet do to our country by our examples. Fifteen

* In this grove numerous companies have dined on this anniversary, for several years past.

years ago, on the 4th of July, I descanted at large, before this Society, on the political situation of the country. You will doubtless have it in remembrance, that this was immediately after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The prediction of the national happiness, in reserve for us, has been more speedily verified, than I myself had expected. The time will not allow me to enquire how much of this happiness is to be ascribed to that form of government, and how much to the different administrations—how so great good was acquired, and how it is in danger of being lost. In free governments there is always a struggle for power. But whosoever may be in or out of the exercise of power, I am confident, the Republic cannot long continue flourishing and independent, unless MODERATION, INDUSTRY, JUSTICE and VALOUR be the characteristics of the citizens.

IN some of your anniversary addresses, such elaborate dissertations have been made on the institutions and habits of this State, that I shall content myself with recommending what, from the sense in which I wish them here to be understood, I shall style the CIVIL VIRTUES—MODERATION, INDUSTRY, JUSTICE and VALOUR. Without these a state cannot prosper and be in safety, however well contrived and balanced its constitution—however sagaciously its laws may be framed, or however ably executed. After treating

of these general heads, I shall take notice of two particular events, which have lately happened to our nation. As this is the last time I shall ever address you in public, I will not suffer so favourable an opportunity to pass, without bearing testimony, in the most unequivocal terms, against every species of Tyranny. And I shall then conclude my discourse, by bidding a final adieu to the Society.

The observation, that, in this embryo stage of existence, every thing is marked with the stamp of imperfection, is not the less pertinent on this occasion, and ought not to be the less productive of mutual indulgence for our infirmities, for having been often repeated. How confined are the limits of the human understanding! how defective or inaccurate the knowledge, which the greatest proficients can boast! the Slaves of passion, the Dupes of prejudice, and not uncommonly the Victims of appetite, to what misconceptions, errors and crimes are we not constantly exposed! Who amongst us has not experienced that the same objects have appeared to him, at one moment, entirely different from what they did at another? And how should it be otherwise, when those objects are so liable to be coloured by the jaundice in our own eyes, to be magnified or diminished by the fault of the medium of vision, or distorted by the oblique direction from whence, they are viewed? Yet,

without making any allowance for human imbecility, how prone are we to consider all, not only erroneous but criminal, who do not coincide with us in sentiment? Even we of the Cincinnati, who have passed together the morning of life, when the heart is peculiarly susceptible of the tender and lasting impressions of friendship, and who belong to the same amiable and benevolent fraternity, whenever we differ in politics, can scarcely behold each other without aversion and malevolence.

Ought these things to be so? Or ought not a temper of moderation, to dictate a conciliatory conduct? Did we not, as a band of brothers, combat for American Liberty? Have we not a common country? Are not our interests essentially the same? Who then can see, without pain, the prevalence of dissentions, animosities and hatreds? Who but must lament, that misrepresentation anddetraction, for party purposes, have become almost systematic? It is sometimes objected, as an assumed fact unfavourable to our Union, that we have no national character and national manners, to give stability to principle and attachment to country. However specious this objection may be, as applied elsewhere, let it be remembered, few districts with equal population, in any part of the world, are more homogeneous in these respects than New-England. The inhabitants are mostly descended from an

unmixed origin. The distinguishing features of their religion are the same—and their institutions, laws and manners, remarkable for similarity. Here are the bones of our ancestors—and here the fortunes of our future generations. And well may we delight to turn our first regards on that industry, which has been the scource of a great portion of our New-England prosperity.

Employment of time, in some honest calling, is productive of better riches, than mines of silver and gold. No nation was ever more indebted to industry for its progress in improvements than the United States; and perhaps no part of them, more than Connecticut. This can never be too frequently mentioned, or too much commended. National felicity commonly encreases or diminishes, with the encrease or diminution of national industry. How much wiser is it to prevent wretchedness and mendicity, by enabling and inducing all persons in the community to gain a livelihood by labour, than neglecting this, (as happens in some countries of Europe) to be obliged afterwards, to make expensive establishments, by taxes and hospitals, for paupers and beggars? Protected industry cannot frequently enough be held forth to the public view, as the cause of the wealth of nations. Wealth thus procured, I shall presently attempt to show, is less likely to be followed by corruption of morals and prostration of energies, than

when suddenly accumulated, without exertion and without frugality. Nay, moral character is often favorably influenced by it. Good or bad habits are somewhat in proportion to activity and slothfulness. The former is a living and salutary stream—the latter a dead and pestilential lake. By the first, men's tastes are fitted to relish innocent and elegant enjoyments; by the last, gross sensuality. Industry and Virtue—Indolence and Vice—are nearly convertible terms. The republican character is, more than others, affected by industry or indolence. It would be a solecism to assert, that industrious citizens could form vicious, or indolent citizens, virtuous Republics. Enervating idleness, attended by an inordinate love of pleasure, seems incompatible with every masculine and heroic quality. Nor can a nation of Sybarites, under any form of government, defend themselves effectually against any powerful invader. It is not fickle fortune, but calculated effort, that makes and keeps men free and happy. When they become habitually sluggish, immoral, ignorant or indifferent to their interests, they are far advanced towards the brink of perdition, and ready to fall an easy prey to a crafty Demagogue or daring Despot.

To render subservient to human use a wilderness, lately howling in fearful barbarity, is the noble task which has been performed on the very

place where we are now assembled. Where can we find a more beautiful prospect, than on these banks of Connecticut River? What object can exceed in charms, that view of our species, in which the hardy cultivator, after having struggled successfully with savage NATURE, is seen enjoying the spoils of conquest, with an exulting conviction that no terrestrial power can wrest them from him? And if this *personification* may for a moment be continued, how magnificent and interesting is the spectacle, when the *same* NATURE herself, once rustic and rude, now embellished and adorned, appears the loveliest captive that ever fell to the lot of a conqueror! Compared to this, what are their Brisēis or their Helen? Compared to this glorious compensation, for what is, in my judgment, the sublimest enterprize attempted and proudest achievement accomplished by man, how despicable are the gorgeous pomp and gaudy pageantry of victors returned from battle, decorated with the brightest baubles that ever excited the longings of ambition, and crowned with the fairest wreaths which were ever reaped from the desolated earth?

OUR State has, in its transactions, been generally guided by the eternal rules of Justice. By JUSTICE alone, can our confederated Empire be established. In aid of this, it is to be hoped, several circumstances, which have an influence on our character and manners as a people (in

this section of the United States, in particular) may contribute towards the duration of our republican forms of government. A rigorous climate, that tries the body by alternate extremes of heat and cold; and a rugged soil, which requires persevering toil to draw a subsistence from it, will naturally make a hardy race of inhabitants. The stubborn materials of which our independent yeomanry are composed, will not suffer them readily to be shaped into the pliable automatons of despotism. It has been apprehended that the rapid increase of wealth in a country like ours, where the citizens in the seaports, are animated by such a spirit of commercial enterprize, would produce refinements; that refinements would be attended with luxury and effeminacy; and that these would be followed by the loss of liberty. Were all parts of our *settlements* like our large towns, this might possibly be the case. But the vast quantity of land to be settled, its superiority in quality over most of that which is already located, the facility of obtaining farms by persons in moderate circumstances, and their natural propensity to make such a permanent provision for their families, will doubtless continue Agriculture as the principal business, in United America, for many years. We need not fear that trade will gain an undue ascendancy in our affairs. May no fascinating allurements of conquest ever operate more powerfully in seducing us from the pursuits of agriculture! God forbid we

should wish for wealth or grandeur, by despoiling others of the fruits of their labour! And what have we to do with ambition? What advantage can we figure to ourselves, which cannot be better obtained by peace than war? Is it plunder—is it splendor, which we want?—No! Agriculture, with her attendants, Navigation, Commerce, and Manufactures, will afford ample means of gratifying all our reasonable desires. INDUSTRY and MORALS are the strong foundations of public felicity. But splendid fortunes, suddenly acquired, without the ordinary process of acquisition, are not friendly to INDUSTRY and MORALS. What tendency have piracy and pillage, but to cherish idleness and debauchery? May not territories be too extensive, particularly for republican forms of government? And shall the pride of counting a few more millions of acres of land, or a few more millions of men under the same domination, stimulate mankind to seek plausible pretexts for carrying devastation into foreign countries? If the United States could, without cost, without bloodshed, make more extensive conquests than were ever made before, they should not be thus tempted to their ruin. To be happy at home, and capable of defending ourselves against attacks from abroad, should bound our ambition. But should any power be so unjust and so impolitic as to force us into a war, then ought we not to hesitate to make him feel his folly, by assailing him in the most vulnerable point.

No maxim was ever so well calculated to allay jealousy and preserve peace, as that of "doing to others as we would they should do unto us." This is a sublimer doctrine than was ever taught by uninspired philosophy. The precept is an emanation from pure Religion—the practice, a proof of unsophisticated Justice. This is the righteousness which exalts a nation—while the reverse, is the sin which is the reproach to any people. Yet, considering the perverse passions by which the conduct of mankind is frequently influenced, it is indispensably necessary to be prepared to repel force by force. For notwithstanding all the possible justice which we can practise to others, we may be, as we have been, compelled to resort to arms for the defence of our inalienable rights.

To inspire our nation with military ardour and enthusiasm, appears essential to our existence. Effeminacy, cowardice, and dissension, in a country marked for invasion by its wealth and weakness, leaves every thing to be apprehended from unprovoked aggression. A community consisting of farmers, merchants, and mechanics, regardless of the means of defence, will not long maintain its independence.

Examples of patriotism and courage, if needed, shall not however be wanting. You, Veterans! can yet stand in the desperate breach,

or die in the last ditch. The war-horse, discharged from his troop as broken down by hard service, forgets not the sound of the trumpet. Nor would the clashing of swords or the shout of invasion strike your ears in vain. Is there not many an aged hero now in my view, who could say in the language of the immortal bard—

> "Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
> Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
> The means of weakness and debility;
> Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
> Frosty but kindly."

At the first alarm, would you not again gird on the harness? Would you not teach such armies as might come for conquest or plunder—armies of boys born since you gained the prize of freedom for which you contended—I say, would you not teach them, you are still men? Would you not show them, that the knees of the silver greys do not so totter beneath the weight of arms, as to refuse their post in the front of the battle? If we fall like ripe fruits in autumn, another progeny, beauteous with the promise of spring, will succeed, to cause our loss to be soon forgotten. And shall there be found, among them, one poltron who would refuse to enroll himself in the ranks? Who among you, young

men ! will belie the blood of your fathers, or raise a blush on the face of those who bore you ? What mother would not sooner shed a tear at the dishonour of a living son, than on hearing he had fallen covered with honorable wounds, and fighting gloriously to the last gasp, in defence of his country ? Where is the virgin, whose secret affections followed her lover to the field, who would not treat him with ineffable contempt at his return, should he have misbehaved before the enemy ? Veterans ! with your examples of valour—Youths ! with your pledges of duty—your country is safe from fear of subjugation by a foreign foe.

It is neither within the compass of my time or intention to speak of internal dangers ; or to say any thing of the apprehensions which do exist, that one member of the confederacy is striving to acquire and perpetuate a predominance in the councils of the nation, fatal to the equal rights of the rest. It is, however, but too well known to be denied, that the public mind is now unusually agitated, by the approaching election of Chief Magistrates. This violent ferment seems likely to be renewed with the recurring period, once in every four years. Perhaps it is an evil inherent in elective governments. In the present state of human nature, I do not know of any remedy. But with all its imperfections and inconveniences, I know not myself, nor have learned from others,

how the Federal Constitution could be replaced by one less exceptionable. I am, therefore, earnestly desirous of giving it a fair experiment. I expect nothing perfect. In case of change—I expect nothing better—nothing so good. It is the first real trial of a well organized Representative Government. It is the last hope of true republicans. For if it fails of success, what government can we look for, but such an one as shall be imposed by chance or force? It will then be too late for deliberation.

I MUST now be permitted, as I have stated was a part of my design, to offer a few observations on two national events, which have taken place since our last annual meeting. The first is the *cession of Louisiana by France to the United States. It belongs not to me to scrutinize the motives of the First Consul for this transferrence. If they arose from the conjuncture, I do not perceive that we have a right to complain of any thing insidious or unfair in the bargain. At the time of the negociation, a war between England and France was highly probable. Our Negociators acted with that prospect before them. Government has ratified the treaty. It will form a memorable epoch, as exhibiting, in the estimation of many of our citizens, the first national act towards an unnecessary enlargement of empire. By them, the addition of this immense region, to

* See Note *(b)*

our jurisdiction, has been reprobated—by others it has been applauded, and celebrated with rejoicings. If I have not participated in them, it was, I know in my conscience, not because I viewed the subject as a question that divided the sentiments of particular descriptions of men, or because I was actuated by party feelings; but because I am seriously apprehensive of disastrous consequences. Possessing, as we did, an extent of country more than sufficient for every purpose of cultivation and population, no more* could be wanted. In this light, it was useless. In another point of view, as it furnished proof of the existence of a disposition for aggrandizement, it was more to be deprecated. Shall we not have sufficient inhabitants for defence, by natural increase, within our ancient limits? and are we not already spread over as much territory as can be well governed under the representative system which we have chosen, without embarrassment? Is an individual likely to be happier at his fire side, or protected with more efficacy or economy, by being confounded in a mass of thirty millions of souls, than by composing part of the present population of the United States? Will Louisiana add to our national strength? Who, but Land-Jobbers and Negro-Owners, will reap any emolument from it? Will it not prove rather detrimental, than beneficial, to the public? May it not involve us in dis-

See Note (c)

putes respecting its limits ? and must it not in expenses, for some time, for its government and protection ? It will tend to retard the *sale* and *improvement* of our other unlocated districts. It will likewise thin the old settlements of inhabitants, by attracting settlers from them. And, what is infinitely more pernicious, with all this assistance, it cannot be cultivated to advantage without the introduction of great numbers of Africans. An abomination, sooner or later, I fear, to be expiated in blood ! Let those who wish for the encrease of slaves, rejoice in this new nursery for them. I envy not their sensations. With such labour, the produce will become exceedingly profitable to the slave-holders. Population will multiply with incredible rapidity. And the centre of empire will ere long be carried hundreds of miles southward of the present seat of government. These are no fictions—no exaggerations. I beseech every sincere friend of the Union, to divest himself of local prejudices and party feelings ; and to think seriously on this state of things. What effect it will have on the property of the inhabitants of the eastern and middle states, I leave them to decide ; as well as on the species of republicanism which will characterize their fellow-citizens, in the newly-acquired territory. Every candid person must also be left to judge for himself, whether this event will be likely to contribute to the preservation or destruction of the Union ! I solemnly declare, it

would give me unspeakable pleasure to find my fears had been as groundless as they are sincere and afflictive.

I HAVE never had but one opinion on the true policy of restraining ourselves within our original limits, except so far as might be necessary for rounding our republic; by natural and visible, instead of artificial and imaginary lines of demarkation. The Missisippi appeared a boundary of the former description, designed by nature as the barrier of empire. On this account, and no other, I considered it as a desirable thing for us to purchase the Floridas, at a just price. I wished for no meadows, but such as could be made by cultivation—no mines, but such as should be discovered by the *plough—no fruits planted, or cities built, by the industry of others. Yet the growth and continuance of the prosperity of the inhabitants on the western waters depended so exclusively on the navigation of the Missisippi and the possession of New-Orleans, that their acquisition seemed indispensable. And no inhabitant of those countries must be indulged the permission of saying, he was a more strenuous advocate for the measure, than myself. To prove that my sentiments of the impolicy and impracticability of debarring us from the natural benefits, offered by the munificence of the Creator, are not recently adopted, I will cite a paragraph, which I wrote when Minister in Portugal,

See Note (d)

to Mr. CARMICHAEL, then Chargé d'Affaires for the United States in Spain.

> " Go, chang'd IBERIA ! in thy dotage dream,
> To shut from use long Missisippi's stream !
> But first, go turn it backward from its course,
> And make that world of waters seek their source !
> Go, level Calpe's cliff with conqu'ring ire,
> Quench redd'ning Etna's cataracts of fire ;
> Go, prison wild tornadoes in thy cage,
> Blot day's bright star, and still mad ocean's rage ;
> Then may'st thou hope to chase us from the wave,
> Which GOD, for navigation, form'd and gave."

THE second national event, to which I alluded, is the loss of the frigate Philadelphia, and the captivity of the officers and crew at Tripoli. I will not repeat, what has often been intimated, that this misfortune would not probably have happened, had a suitable number of small armed vessels been employed to cruize with our squadron in the Mediterranean. But I find no difficulty in declaring publicly, I believe, if the blockade had been properly maintained, the Bashaw would long ago have solicited peace from us, on our own terms. It only remains to repair the waste of time by greater exertions ; and to extricate our countrymen, as soon as we can, from their deplorable slavery. Oh ! Slavery ! with what a bitter draught is thy chalice filled ? And must the sons and brothers of those who fought for Independence, drink it to the dregs ? Having been more conversant with Bar-

bary negociations than any other man in America, I might be allowed to paint the condition of our countrymen, condemned to chains, in more gloomy colours. But yon meridian sun would have reached the western horizon, ere I had finished; and, if I am not mistaken in the mettle you are made of, your feelings will supply the picture. Too much praise can hardly be given to the Executive, for the zeal now manifested for bringing this war to a speedy conclusion. And, happily for us, on this subject unanimity prevails, to the best of my knowledge, throughout every department in the Union.

Is slavery less *slavery in a Christian than in a Mahometan country? I entreat your attention, while I plead the general cause of humanity. In such a cause it is right to appeal to your sensibility as well as your reason. It is now no longer time to flatter petty tyrants, by acknowledging that colour constitutes a legitimate title, for holding men in abject and perpetual bondage. In support of this usurpation, what can be urged but the law of the strongest? Yet societies for promoting the abolition of negro-slavery must act with great wisdom and caution, or they will be in danger of doing more mischief than good. They are engaged in opening a passage hedged on every side with thorns, and obstructed by almost insurmountable obstacles. It is difficult to answer

* See the extracts from No. 1 to 7, in the Appendix.

the initial question, "What is to be done with hereditary slaves?" Owing to the unfortunate treatment to which they have been destined by birth, most of them are without instruction, and without morality. Can they suddenly be made fit subjects for liberation? I own, I am no friend to sudden manumission—because it would be doing much injury to the proprietors—and because the condition of the slaves, destitute of forethought, industry, and a sense of moral obligations, would perhaps be but little mended. And the community could not fail to suffer, for a while, by their idleness, penury and vice. It was to have been hoped, that the current of public opinions, and the concurrence of testamentary bequests, would have prepared the blacks by degrees, for tasting the cup of liberty, without intoxication. Oh! gracious Heaven, must the shackles be yet riveted on endless generations? Certainly many philanthropic possessors of slaves have united with others, in the hope that some prudent means might be devised for gradual emancipation. But the introduction of thousands of native Africans into South Carolina, the present year, has at least postponed the accomplishment of that hope. Poor and unsatisfactory indeed, is the excuse that these will only supply the place of the negroes, who would otherwise have been brought there from Maryland and Virginia. In one case, the number of slaves in the country remained the same—in the other, it is augmented. Against

this augmentation, this sin of a scarlet die, I dare to raise my voice. I am sensible that what I now say, cannot be confined to this audience. Printing, that marvellous improvement on the invention of the ancients for communicating their ideas in writing; that magical power of the moderns, for speaking, if the expression may be permitted, with more facility to the most distant eye, sends forth articulated sounds to the uttermost corners of the earth. Fearless of offending, I have long ago attacked tyranny in his strong holds. If sentiment and principle can be more forcibly impressed by poetry than prose, I will again use the former, without apology, in carrying them home to the bosoms of my old companions in arms.

HEARD ye a voice within, instinctive urge,
To check the progress of unpitying war,
Wrench from the grasp of tyranny his scourge,
And crush ambition in his crimson car?

That voice we heard, when Britain's long-fam'd host
Our yeomen, new to arms, in battle smote;
In love of country every passion lost,
Our ravish'd souls to liberty devote.

If we to Heav'n our unavailing vows
For Poland rais'd—besought Heav'n's righteous Lord,
To rend the wreath from Austria's, Prussia's brows,
And break of baneful leagues the *threefold cord;

With horror mark'd the Empress of the North,
Her wheels yet reeking o'er the †mooned host,

* The coalition of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for the partition of Poland.

† Few readers will have occasion to be informed, that the banners of the Ottoman troops have crescent moons, for their armorial emblems.

Rouse the dull Russ, and call the Cossac forth
From darksome dens of everlasting frost :

If we on changeful Gaul, not coldly gaz'd,
But lov'd the fair reforms by patriots plann'd,
Till, fir'd by crimes, our indignation blaz'd,
That democrats enrag'd should rule the land :

If to COLUMBIA's sons a tear I ow'd,
Her captive seamen chain'd at Algiers long ;
If for their wrongs, my eyes, a fountain, flow'd,
And thunder'd from my tongue the wrathful song :

Of every class, ye proud oppressors ! hear !
Monarchs and demagogues who realms enslave,
Or ye who purchase bondmen* far and near,
I hate your conduct, and your anger brave.

And chief, ye despots ! to the strain attend !
Shall coward millions to your will succumb ?
At your capricious nod whole nations bend,
Or for resistance find a sudden tomb ?

To Heav'n be praise !—that Gothic spell is o'er,
When, lull'd by witcheries, Europe slept supine,
And only dream'd of superstitious lore,
Prescriptive pow'r and regal rights divine.

Strange seems to Beings groping dim in dust,
That HE, whose light and dark enchantment broke,
At times (his ways inscrutable as just)
Still suffers man to smart beneath a yoke.

Ah ! why will HE, blest Arbiter on high,
His bow with thunder charg'd and bickering fire,
Not bare his arm to bid his terrors fly,
And earth's fierce Troubler's at his frown expire ?

* This refers to the late *repeal* of the law in South Carolina, which prohibited the importation of slaves. Since which, thousands have been introduced into that State from Africa.

Though conscience oft, their raging pride to tame,
Shall make them curse their triumphs earn'd by guilt,
Compell'd to hate their very idol, fame,
And drink, inebriate, of the blood they spilt :

A retribution in unjoyous climes,
Remains to make the moral scheme complete—
Be joyful, earth ! unburden'd of their crimes ;
And, Hell ! rise grim, their coming shades to greet

And less shall plagues pursue those planter-lords,
Who, for proud wealth in slaves, their lot applaud ;
Yet boast of liberty with guileful words,
And preach " all men were equals made by GOD" ?

Are ye the lords who treat your slaves as brutes ?
Heav'ns ! how your deeds and doctrines disagree !
Speak not of freedom !—for your lip pollutes
Your holy oath, " that man by birth is free."

Blush not these men, to government elect,
Thy cause, Equality ! who quaintly plead—
And talk of *declarations* that protect
Man's natural rights—nor name that hateful deed

Themselves have done—to hold their blacks enthrall'd,
To dole no daily *food save stinted corn—
With whips to drive them, faint, with fetters gall'd—
To tasks unending—and of hope forlorn ?

Say, then, perfidious !—say, are ye alone—
Exclusive patriots ?—Freedom's only friends ?
Your eye-balls cas'd in scales, your hearts in stone,
On you the frenzying curse of Heav'n descends,

* One peck of Indian corn, in the grain, is the only food allowed to each slave for seven days, on many plantations. See the essay on the use of maize in the Appendix.

Ruin's forerunner ! every art ye use
To cheat the crowd with liberty's sweet name ;
With hypocritic cant promote your views,
Increase† your slaves, and glory in your shame.

Was it for this, incomparably bold,
Led by your godlike chief, through climates far,
We brav'd the summer's heat, the winter's cold,
Breasting the dreadful enginery of war

Through eight long years, in many a gory field,
High in the van, the starry flag unfurl'd,
Till peace (with heroes' blood the treaty seal'd)
Confirm'd man's equal rights in this new world ?

What ! while we hear the clank of slavery's chains,
Mix'd with discordant sounds of patriot zeal ;
While love of freedom throbs through veteran veins,
For Afric's sons shall we no pity feel ?

How long in vain shall Afric's race be mourn'd ?
In hopeless bondage, unredeem'd, how long ?
No hand to help—with cries for justice spurn'd—
Cringe at the cutting of the penal thong ?

Ye planters ! bashaws ! cast one kind regard
On blacks ftom Guinea brought for barter'd gold ;
Or, blind to interest as of feeling hard,
Can ye with cruel scorn their woes behold ?

Will no good angel on the Lybean shore,
Dash the curst vessel destin'd to our climes ;
Ere yet augmented slaves with flames and gore
Retort thsir wrongs, and measure crimes for crimes ?

Behold !—oh, horror !—HAYTI's bloody strand !
Mark ! how the lesson erst by white-men giv'n,

† There are individuals in the United States, who hold more of their fellow-creatures in slavery, than either of the Barbary Powers.

Not vainly taught the barb'rous sable band,
To claim the *birth-right* held alone from Heav'n.

Dark rose the negroes—'twas the dread resolve,
That *right* to rescue, or with *it* expire,
Bade the strong bolts that bound their flesh dissolve,
Like flaxen cords before devouring fire.

Once whitemen triumph'd—blackmen now are free;
While fearful noises fluctuate on the wind,
Late victors fly for safety to the sea,
And not a haughty master lags behind.

Thou blot on nature, Slavery! disappear!
Yet, monster! yet, a moment, from thy mouth,
Shall gall and venom tinge the verdant year,
And blast the glories of the boasted South.

Then, bright through bursting clouds, the aurora trace!
Though long the night, and murky low'r'd the sky,
Lift up your heads! ye much enduring race!
Lift up your heads! for your redemption's nigh.

Mr Friends and Fellow Citizens!

I now take my leave of you, in offering my best acknowledgments for your polite and flattering attention to this discourse. May our country be prosperous and safe, by Moderation, Industry, Justice and Valour, when not only the tongue which now implores that valedictory blessing, but every other in this assembly, shall be silent in death! and may the stain of slavery be, one day effaced! You have been witnesses of our conduct—you have heard our respect for the decision of our rulers, even when we believed they were influenced by an un-

reasonable prejudice. Had we the inclination, how have we the ability, to become a previleged order, dangerous to the liberty of the Republic? To prove we will not, is in our power. Perhaps a page is vacant in the annals of America, to receive the proceedings of this society, on this anniversary. We may then expect more justice from posterity, than from the present age. For myself, I scorn to live the object of jealousy, when its malignity may be avoided, by dissolving this connection. This medal of the society of the Cincinnati, Gen. WASHINGTON caused to be procured in France; and he gave it to me as a *present*, with his own hand. For the giver's sake, I will keep it as a precious relick; but from this hour, I shall never wear it, not even on the proud day consecrated to independence.

MY FRIENDS OF THE CINCINNATI!

THE most painful part of the solemnity still remains.—To bid an adieu until the consummation of all things, is to pronounce an awful word. Whatever may be your determination, as to the continuance or dissolution of our Society; under the circumstances which have been related, my part is decided. I cannot reconcile it to my idea of propriety, ever again to attend your [redacted] meetings. The behaviour of one branch of the Legiſlature has accelerated the ſeparation, which in a few years must have been inevitable. I shall see your faces nomore. May the sunſhine of conscience

gild your setting day—and may you enjoy every species of felicity which you can desire for yourselves! For the last time—farewell. Ye survivors of thousands, who died fighting for the glorious cause of Liberty—Ye remnants of yourselves in better days—Ye Veterans of the revolutionary army, farewell!—Farewell, forever!

AT this meeting, a vote was passed for the dissolution of the Society; the Members or their legal heirs having a right to withdraw the proportion of the fund belonging to them. A number of the Officers determined to leave their share to be divided among such as had been accustomed to receive some annual assistance from this Society.

APPENDIX.

Note (*a.*)

THE Honourable JEREMIAH WADSWORTH was for many years a Magistrate, member of the State Legislature, and Representative in Congress. An honourary degree was conferred on him by Yale College; and he was an associate in several institutions established to promote the prosperity of his country, and increase the happiness of mankind. A letter written by him, on the introduction of a species of wheat, which resists, better than any other, the ravages of the Hessian fly, has been published. His successful attempts in applying the Plaister of Paris as a manure, has brought it into extensive use on the borders of Connecticut River, to the great profit of the farmers. The breed of horses in his neighbourhood, has been rendered much better than it was formerly, by means of the stock which he imported from England. Some of the black-cattle and hogs which he raised on his farm, it is believed, were not inferior to any which have been bred in the United States. He was amongst the first to apply for, and obtain one of the Merino Rams, imported from Spain two years ago, to meliorate his flock of sheep. Has not the memory of such a man, who has laboured so ardently and so successfully to be serviceable to his fellow citizens, more claims to an honourable notice in the records of merit, than those of the homicides (vulgarly called heroes) who have laid waste so many of the fair portions of the world, for the sole purpose of being known and applauded by posterity?

Note (*b*)

THE question whether the possession of Louisiana will be advantageous or disadvantageous to the United States, undoubtedly involves considerations of the greatest importance. It ought to be discussed with equal delicacy and fairness. The splendid view of the addition of such an immense region to our territory, is calculated to dazzle and astonish the boldest imagination. To those who prefer problematical and eventual grandeur to solid and actual happiness, there can be no doubt this vast enlargement of our limits must appear one of the most glorious events which could have taken place. I am fully persuaded, there are honest and well-informed patriots, who entertain this opinion. In this number, I should naturally include Dr. RAMSAY, of South Carolina. It is since the preceding discourse has been in the press, I have seen the Oration of that gentlemen, delivered on the 12th of May last, at Charleston, in celebration of the acquisition of Louisiana. However I may regret to differ in judgment, on so important a point, from a person whose talents and morals I hold in so high estimation ; I cannot feel myself relieved, by any thing he has suggested, from my apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, which seem inevitable. Had it not been for the incidental manner in which I treated this subject, I should have offered several other reasons which operated in forming my opinion, unless I had suppressed them from a dread of aiding in giving birth or nourishment, to local prejudice or policy. I did believe, and I have found nothing to change that belief, that, if we were faithful to ourselves, and continued within our ancient limits, we should be competent to defend ourselves, against the secret machinations or open assaults of all the powers, which might be disposed to injure or annoy us. This opinion I supported, with at least sufficient zeal, in an argument with Gen. ST. CYR, Ambassador of France, at Madrid, in presence of the whole diplomatic corps, while the subject of Louisiana was in agitation, a few days before I left that capitol. I am neither afraid or ashamed to avow, at present, the same opinion, together with the addition-

al one, which I expressed on that occasion; that, if we were unfaithful to ourselves, by becoming a disunited people, whatever our numbers might be, nothing could secure us from sharing the fate of other nations, in the same predicament: and that, possessing the natural, moral and political advantages with which we had been favored, we could claim little pity for our lot, in case we should lose our independence, by our discord and folly. And I went so far as to ask Gen. St. Cyr, (who always appeared to me, a gentleman, a soldier, and a statesman) whether the French armies would have ever penetrated into Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, in the manner which they had done, but for the great numbers of friends they found in those countries?

On the subject of increasing our population by emigrations, mentioned by Dr. Ramsay, as much to be desired, I conceive, I cannot do better than to quote the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson, communicated to a foreigner in the time of our revolutionary war; and consequently several years before the influx of emigrants from Europe, who have in a manner inundated some parts of our country. His words, in his Notes on Virginia, are as follow:

"Here I will beg leave to propose a doubt. The present desire of America, is to produce rapid population by as great importations of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? The advantage proposed is the multiplication of numbers. Now let us suppose (for example only) that in this state, we could double our numbers in one year by the importation of foreigners; and this is a greater accession than the most sanguine advocate for emigration has a right to expect. Then I say, beginning with a double stock, we shall attain any given degree of population only 27 years and three months sooner than if we proceed on our single stock. If we propose four millions and a half as a competent population for this state, we should be 54½ years attaining it, could we at once double our numbers; and 81¾ years, if we rely on natural propagation, as may be seen by the following table:

	Proceeding on our present stock.	*Proceeding on a double stock.*
1781	567,614	1,135,228
1808	1,135,228	2,270,456
1835	2,270,456	4,540,912
1862	4,540,912	

"In the first column are stated periods of 27½ years; in the second are our numbers, at each period, as they will be if we proceed on our actual stock; and in the third are what they would be, at the same periods, were we to set out from the double of our present stock. I have taken the term of four millions and a half of inhabitants for example's sake only. Yet I am persuaded it is a greater number than the country spoken of, considering how much inarable land it contains, can clothe and feed, without a material change in the quality of their diet. But are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantage expected from a multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners? It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps is more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet, from such, we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to ex-

perience, during the present contest, for a verification of these conjectures. But, if they be not certain in event, are they not possible, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience 27 years and three months longer, for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable? Suppose 20 millions of republican Americans thrown all of a sudden into France, what would be the condition of that kingdom? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of foreigners to our present numbers would produce a similar effect here. If they come of themselves, they are entitled to all the rights of citizenship: but I doubt the expediency of inviting them by extraordinary encouragements. I mean not that these doubts should be extended to the importation of useful artificers. The policy of that measure depends on very different considerations. Spare no expense in obtaining them. They will after a while go to the plough and the hoe; but, in the mean time, they will teach us something we do not know. It is not so in agriculture. The indifferent state of that among us does not proceed from a want of knowledge merely; it is from our having such quantities of land to waste as we please. In Europe the object is to make the most of their land, labor being abundant: here it is to make the most of our labor, land being abundant."

In justice to the liberality of Mr. JEFFERSON's sentiments on negro-slavery, which he considers a great political and moral evil, I cannot forbear to add the following quotation:

"Under the mild treatment our slaves experience, and their wholesome, though coarse food, this blot in our country increases as fast, or faster, than the whites. During the regal government, we had at one time obtained a law, which imposed such a duty on the importation of slaves, as amounted nearly to a prohibition, when one inconsiderate assembly, placed under a peculiarity of circumstances, repealed the law. This repeal met a joyful sanction from the then sovereign, and no devices, no expedients, which could ever after be attempted by the subsequent assemblies, and they seldom met without attempting them, could succeed in getting the royal assent to a renewal of the duty. In the very first session held under the republican government, the assembly passed a law for the perpetual prohibition of the importation of slaves. This will in some measure stop the increase of this great political and moral evil, while the minds of our citizens may be ripening for a complete emancipation of human nature."

Notwithstanding all the blessings which we are about to confer on the aborigines (according to the opinion of some statesmen) by making extensive establishments in Louisiana; it would be consolatory to me, to be convinced, our encroachment on their hunting ground, will not redound more to their injury, than our society will be to their benefit. Wherever the settlements of the whites have advanced, the natives have become extinct or been obliged to retire into the wilderness. Their destinies, in this respect, seem almost preternatural, even where they have been treated with an uncommon share of justice and humanity. In the Atlantic States scarcely a vestige remains. All attempts to civilize and christianize them, have hitherto been attended with partial and imperfect success. In spite of these discouragements, we should not be weary in making further efforts, in regard to the tribes or remains of tribes within our ancient limits. How far we are required to seek new subjects for experiments, and how far their good is the primary end we have in view, I shall leave politicians and casuists to decide.

Note (c)

To obviate by anticipation any imputatation of inconsistency which might be made, I take the liberty to state the following facts. I did not concur in opinion with those who were for using forcible means in the first instance, for the recovery of our right of deposit at New Orleans, which had been suspended by the Intendant; because, I believed the Spanish government too just to authorise such a proceeding; because, I was utterly opposed to any measure which might encourage a disposition for war, conquest, and extension of territory, the consequences of which could not be calculated; because, I was persuaded the right thus wantonly suspended, might be obtained better by negociation than force; and because in case it should not be thus amicably obtained, I had no doubt of our abiiity to recover it by force, whenever we might think it expedient.

When I called to take leave of President JEFFERSON, on returning to the eastward from Washington, in January, 1803, among other things, he said to me, "I see they have got your name also into the news-papers." On my asking him, "where, and how;" he replied, "In CHEETHAM's American Citizen, in which he charges you by name, with being the author of a piece in some other paper, advising the immediate attack of the Spanish settlements—a charge of which we can all readily acquit you."

In truth, I have never seen to this day, either CHEETHAM's paper in which this false charge is contained, or the piece to which he alluded.

Note (*d*)

"No mines but such as should be discovered by the plough." By these expressions, it is not meant, that the useful and the precious metals can be dispensed with, in the present stage of civilized society; but that it would generally be more advantageous for us to purchase such portions of those articles as we may want, with the produce of our labour in other vocations, than to explore the bowels of the earth for them. It is well known, that the countries which have the most valuable mines, are not the richest; but, I believe, it was never known, that a nation, with the most industry and the best government, was not among the happiest.

I HAVE suggested to the Rev. Dr. MORSE, that an investigation and statement of the measures taken by the States situated east of Maryland, for the gradual extinction of Slavery, could scarcely fail of being an acceptable article, if inserted in a future Edition of his useful Geography. It is hoped the Public will be favored with such an addition. In the mean time, I will annex, by way of Notes, a few quotations, with respect to its existence in other parts of the Union, together

with the opinions of different persons on the subject of holding Africans in bondage.

Note 1.

That there are yet serious advocates for the lawfulness of Negro-Slavery, will be evident from the following criticism, extracted from the American Review and Literary Journal, for 1801, *page* 236, *on a work entitled:*

"The Doctrine of perpetual Bondage reconcilable with the infinite Justice of God, a truth plainly asserted in the Jewish and Christian Scripture. By John Beck."

On this work the Reviewers observe, that

"This Pamphlet, which is dedicated to the good People of Georgia and South Carolina, contains two Sermons in which the author endeavours to justify Negro-Slavery, on scriptural grounds. He avows it to be his wish and design to counteract the exertions of the Manumission Societies which have been, for some time, formed in the middle and Eastern States. And he confidently hopes, that after the perusal of his work, no christian can hesitate to acknowledge the lawfulness of holding Africans in perpetual bondage.

"It would be difficult for us to express the mingled emotions of contempt and indignation, which were excited in our minds by the perusal of this weak and iniquitous performance. Had any one attempted to *excuse* the practice, which has, at one time or another, prevailed in every part of our country, and which especially reigns in the southern States, from the actual habits of the people, from the dangers of immediate emancipation, and from the difficulty of applying any remedy to the evil, we could have listened to him with patience. We are sensible that our Southern Brethren, on these grounds, labour under real and most painful embarrassment respecting their slaves; and we know that many of them deplore the necessity (for so they profess to view it) of continuing the evil. But to find a person attempting to *defend* the practice upon *principle;* endeavouring to reconcile it with the eternal dictates of justice and humanity; and above all, pretending to find in the word of God a support for such an execrable infringement of every fundamental right of our common nature, is truly astonishing. We had supposed there was scarcely an individual in America who would venture to avow princi-

ples so absurd and wicked; and we would fondly believe that Mr. Beck has the disgraceful singularity of standing alone among the citizens of Georgia, in holding and propagating such opinions.

"We shall not so far trespass on the patience of our readers as to present them with any analysis of, or extract from, this wretched effort of ignorance and error. Such frivolous reasoning—such perversions of scripture—such unblushing attempts to subvert every principle of justice and benevolence—and such false charges of corrupt design in the manumission societies in the middle and eastern states—could only excite disgust. And we will add, that, if every sin recorded in the sacred history, as having been practised by the Israelites, be a proper example for imitation; and if every prophetic intimation of what wicked men should, in after times, do, under the impulse of selfishness and corrupt passions, were to be considered a rule of duty, then the most atrocious crimes of which man is capable, may be defended from scripture.

"We are sensible, that, on the subject of slavery in general, a due regard to the situation of the southern States, renders it proper that we should speak with caution. *Summum jus, summa injuria.* But such an insult on the humane and religious feelings of our countrymen as this pamphlet presents, ought not to pass without notice and reprobation. And we have no doubt that a large portion even of slave-holders, in every part of America, would be ashamed to adopt the language and arguments of Mr. BECK."

Note No. 2.

Extract from the Monthly Magazine, printed at Newyork, February, 1800.

"THOUGHTS ON THE PROBABLE TERMINATION OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE UNITFD STATES OF AMERICA."

"IN the five Atlantic Southern States, according to the late enumeration, there were about 1,160,000 free inhabitants, and 630,000 negro slaves. A man of an inquisitive temper, can hardly fail of turning often in his mind, a fact of so much importance, and endeavouring to trace the consequences that may hereafter flow from so considerable a distinction in complexion and privileges of the people of those States.

"It may, in the first place, be observed, that the *free* are to the *slaves* in a less proportion than *two* to *one*; that of the whole number of

people, *more* than *one third* are destitute of any right of property, except of their score or two of cabbages or turnips, planted in their lord's ground, and in the few trinkets with which they bedeck themselves and their wives upon holidays; are destitute of the benefits of education; have never been supplied with moral or religious principles, and are bound to the service of their masters who buy and sell them like cattle; and on whom they depend for shelter, food, clothing, and the employment of their time, just as the mules and oxen are dependent.

"Those States differ from the least civilized parts of Europe in various respects. The free-born in Livonia and Ingria are not, in general, so well instructed as the free-born of Virginia, and the Carolinas; but the *serfs* enjoy higher privileges than the *negroes*; partake the religion of their masters; are connected not with the person, but with the land; have more extensive rights of property; enjoy more exemptions from labour, and are less restrained in chusing, retaining and governing their habitation and families. The number of *serfs*, moreover, is proportionably less than that of *negroes*. The comparison, therefore, is somewhat to the disadvantage of this part of our country.

"One difference between Europeans and us is particularly remarkable. The *serfs* are of the same stock as their lords. They sprang originally from the same soil; they vary, in consequence of education, opinion and acquired habits, but not in form, lineaments and *hue*, from each other. With us, circumstances are widely different. In that conspicuous property of colour, we and our slaves are not different, but opposite; our badges of distinction are black and white. In shape and lineaments our diversity is very great."

After indicating several general causes which may tend to accelerate or retard the abolition of Slavery in the United States, the writer proceeds to express his ideas in the following terms:

"In America, the current of opinion sets strongly against negro servitude. The maxims and spirit of our religion are generally supposed to discountenance the practice of slavery, and, by one sect of christians, are believed to be wholly incompatible with it. Our moral sentiments and reasonings tend likewise to the same end; but, above all, the fundamental rules of our government have a real or apparent hostility with every species of slavery.

"I shall not inquire whether this hostility be real or apparent. It is sufficient for my purpose to remark, that there are many who deem

negro slavery to be expressly abolished by our Constitutions; many who believe that to be the virtual or implied meaning of our laws, and there are few or none who are not convinced that this system is productive of more evil than good; and, however they may decide upon its abstract legality or equity, do not hesitate to condemn it as injurious to individuals and national prosperity. These opinions are daily gaining ground, and their tendency undoubtedly is to facilitate manumissions.

"The great bar to manumissions, is the imaginary interest of proprietors. This operates, with relation to posterity, but with diminished influence; thus manumissions are more common by the last WILL of proprietors than by any other means. The frequency of this will increases through the influence of example, as well as of those principles which have been mentioned above.

"The Southern States are, comparatively, deserts. A few districts on the sea-board are planted with *rice, maize, and tobacco; but the Western regions are unoccupied except by panthers and deer. These, however, will quickly be stocked by people who will migrate hither from the east and the north. The new-comers will bring with them habits, if not opinions, incompatible with slavery. They will till their fields and shock their corn with their own hands. Their numbers have hitherto increased and will continue to increase with a rapidity unexampled in the history of any former nation. The natural powers of propagation, to which every external circumstance will be propitious, will be aided by the influx of strangers from the north. If the number of slaves be at present only one third of the whole, how speedily will that proportion sink to one fifth, one eighth, and even to one tenth?

"As the proportion of freemen increases, it must be expected that every moral cause tending to annihilate servitude, will increase in force. Having no interest to obstruct the operation of their reason or humanity, the manners and opinions of those who hold no slaves, will be likely to gain the ascendant over those of slave-holders. Maxims of justice become popular in proportion as the opposition between those maxims and the interest of individuals is removed. All the objections arising from expediency will lose their force when the disproportion between whites and blacks is carried to a high degree by the rapid progress of the new settlements. Comprehensive schemes of emancipation may possibly be dangerous, when the number of slaves

* *Since this was written, the cultivation of cotton has become an object of very great importance.*

is *one half* or *one third* of the whole; but this danger is annihilated when it dwindles to a fifteenth or a twentieth.

"One may venture, upon pretty sure foundations, to predict the rate of this decrease. Supposing the propagation will do no more than keep up the present stock, which is the most that can be granted, and supposing that the future increase of white population be equal to the past, it will follow, that, in sixty years, the slaves will not be more than one twenty-fifth part of the whole. It is quite probable, indeed, considering the progressive popularity of manumission, and the unfriendly influence of servitude on the multiplication of our species, that slavery will nearly disappear from the United States in a less period than sixty years."

Note No. 3.

EXTRACT from an Essay on the use of Maize, (Indian Corn) in the Monthly Magazine and American Review for the year 1799.

"The most lenient and indulgent treatment consists in allowing each negro, in addition to his maize, which, in this case, is ground and baked by slaves allotted for the purpose, as many salted herrings as he can eat, and twice or thrice a week he is allowed to banquet upon pickled pork. A man, the limits of whose appetite are not prescribed by his master, will eat three herrings, each weighing four ounces, at a meal. He makes two meals per day. His meat therefore amounts, daily, to 1½ lb. He has likewise a rood or two of land, round his hut, which he may cultivate on Sundays and holidays in what manner he pleases. In this garden he raises potatoes, pease, beans, and the like, which greatly heighten the diversity of his banquets; or which he exchanges for spirits, molasses, dainties or clothing. He will likewise raise a fowl or two, and will sometimes, in conjunction with his fellow servants, perhaps, make out to rear a hog; which his master will give him the necessary means of pickling. In some cases tasks are prescribed to the slave, which his industry may dispatch so as to gain a day or two in the week, to be employed to his own advantage. This is the utmost limit of indulgence.

"THE opposite extreme of rigour consists in abridging the negro of all leisure but that of Sundays and a few days at Christmas; and of dispensing weekly to each slave eight quarts of Maize, in the grain. They are driven to the field on Monday morning, and continue there day and night until Saturday evening. Besides their appointed tasks

they are to grind their corn, and prepare the meal, with water brought from a neighboring spring, and at a fire on the spot. They are utter strangers to flesh or fish, to every kind of condiment, even to salt. Their food is absolutely and simply indian meal mingled with water. This is spread upon a board and placed before the fire. The hoe, the usual instrument of their labour, has sometimes been made the instrument of their cookery, whence has arisen the term hoe-cake; but in cases of extreme hardship, this office must be performed by a board, the hoe being in constant use until the moment of beginning their repast. This description is by no means exaggerated. Every one acquainted with the country, will recollect more than one planter, who possesses between two and three hundred slaves, and whose provision is simply and absolutely and invariably, one peck or eight quarts of unground Maize per week. This is ground, sifted and eaten by the same persons, and is unaccompanied by flesh or fish, by molasses, sugar, or even salt. This, therefore, may be considered as a complete instance of the exclusive use of Maize.

"In estimating the influence of this diet, we may be led by attendant circumstances into errors. The rigour which is exercised with regard to food, extends to every other particular; to their dwelling, clothing, tasks, and especially to punishments. These unhappy beings usually appear half naked, emaciated and dejected. They form a melancholy contrast to the plump, spirited and laughing figures, whom their good fortune has placed under a more lenient government. How much of this emaciation and dejection is to be imputed to the kind or quantity of their provision, it is difficult to ascertain.

"I have detailed the limits of indulgence on the one hand and of rigour on the other. There are, of course, numerous intermediate degrees. One of these degrees consists in dispensing weekly a fixed, though limited, provision. Herrings constitute always a part of this provision; but the grain is never less than eight quarts a week. Hence it should appear that eight quarts, without any additional ingredient, are insufficient for wholesome subsistence."

The writer then proceeds to offer an ingenious calculation on the great benefits which might be conferred on these poor slaves, by introducing a different, but easy and cheap, mode of cooking the Indian meal. The curious nature of the observations, it is hoped, will justify the following quotation.

"Admitting, however, that with moderate tasks, with all the benefits of cookery, with comfortable clothing and shelter, with intervals of leisure and amusement, eight quarts per week should be deemed sufficient, let us see what will be the amount of daily provision, and compare it with the experiments of Count Rumford.

	lb.	oz.
"A bushel of Maize (in grain) will weigh - - - -	61	0
"And produces of meal - - - - - - - - - - -	45	0
"A peck or fourth of a bushel, will therefore - - - produce of meal - - - - - - - - -	11	4
"This dvided into seven portions per day - - - - -	1	6
"This will make of hasty-pudding - - - - - - -	4	8

"Count Rumford informs us that he dined upon one 1 lb. 1½ oz. of this pudding, so that the negro's daily portion of corn would afford, if made into hasty-pudding, more than four meals equivalent to our author's dinner; a quantity, which, according to this estimate, ought amply to supply the daily wants of a single person.

"It is not to be forgotten, however, that water properly combined with other substances has been proved to be eminently nutricious; and that hasty-pudding has a larger proportion of water than can be produced by any other mode of preparation. The negro is compelled to turn his meal into dough, and to bake it without permitting fermentation, and as soon as it is made. By this mode the benefits of cookery are almost wholly lost. Suppose, however, that the hoe-cake retains as much air and moisture as well fermented bread. Meal, by fermentation and baking, is supposed to gain one third of its weight, so that 1 lb. 6 oz. of meal will produce of hoe-cake, 1 lb. 13 oz. which is about two ounces more than the product in hasty-pudding, of half a pound of meal. Hence it follows, that though the negro may famish and die upon his daily allowance made into *hoe-cake*, the same portion made into *hasty-pudding*, might constitute an ample supply for two days. Hence we infer the great importance of cookery."

Note No. 4.

EXTRACT from the Literary Review and American Register for October, 1803. Page 30.

CRITICISM ON,

"*A view of South Carolina, as respects her natural and civil concerns, by* JOHN DRAYTON.

"After discussing, very fully, the agriculture of the state, the author proceeds to make some few remarks on negro-slavery. On this

delicate topic it is but justice to all parties to hear what a shrewd and candid judge has to say in defence of negro servitude.

'In the pursuits of agriculture, slaves were introduced into this state: and importations from Africa soon supplied the planter with as many negroes as he was able to purchase. This gave a rapid increase to the settlement, and riches of the lower country; when otherwise, its richest lands would not have been worth the cultivating. They consequently became a vested property in their respective owners, by the laws of the land; and however paradoxical it may appear, their owners on obtaining their independence, and a right by the constitution and government of this state, and these United States, thence flowing, *to be protected in their persons and property*, had an indefesible right in them, without the reach of laws to alter, unless by their own consent, or by suitable compensation. Notwithstanding, however, this barrier, which has been, and will continue to be placed against any innovations respecting this property; many are the efforts which are not only tried individually, but collectively, to weaken this right of property; and ultimately, to change its very nature. The impropriety appears greater; as these attempts flow, not from our own citizens, *for they know their rights and interests better;* but from *those of the Northern States;* who are less acquainted with them. With as much propriety might we request them to dismiss their *horses* from the plough; as for us to dismiss *these people* from labour. For *in both cases, lands of excellent quality, which are cultivated by them, would revert to a state of nature.* And with the same reason might they be asked to give the money out of their pockets, in order to equalize the situation of every person; as the people of the southern states be requested to make changes in this property, which would materially affect the fortunes they possess. And notwithstanding this impropriety, societies have intruded so far, as to send addresses to the different branches of our legislature; recommending certain modes, which they deem most eligible for us to pursue in this respect; and all this for the good of the whole family of mankind! The reception which these addresses have met with, renders any further comment on them unnecessary. This much however may be said —that if it be an evil, it will sooner, or later, effect its own cure; and if it be a sin, it is the happiness *of those who are not engaged in it*, to be safe from any of its future calamities.

'Should we for a moment enquire, what is the situation of negroes in Africa; we shall find them generally in a state of slavery; liable to be sold for the luxury of their princes, or, as following the chances of war. Some few are stolen from their parents, and others are taken by deception and fraud. But the great mass which have

been brought to South Carolina, only exchanged one slavery for another ; and that too, *with many advantages in favor of their present situation in this country*. There, they are subject to the uncontroled pleasure of princes ; and are sometimes even slaughtered for the ceremonies of their funerals. Neither life nor property is secured to them. But force, oppression, and injustice, are the great engines of their government. *Here*, laws are passed for their *security* and *protection*. They are worked by certain tasks, which are not unreasonable ; and when they are diligent in performing them, they have some hours of the day to themselves. Hence they are encouraged to plant for their own emolument ; raise poultry for their own use, or for sale ; and are protected in the property which they thus acquire. With *good masters* they are happy and contented ; and instances are known, where they have declined an offered freedom. It is now prohibited *by law* to work them more than certain hours of the day, during different portions of the year ; and their owners are *liable to a penalty*, if they do not feed and clothe them in a suitable manner. Should they treat them cruelly, they are *amenable to a court of justice* for the same. If a slave be killed in the heat of passion, fifty pounds sterling is *forfeited* to the *state : and if wilfully murdered, one hundred pounds sterling is forfeited in like manner by the person offending, and he is rendered forever incapable of holding, exercising, enjoying, or receiving the profits of any office, place, or emolument, civil or military, within this state. And in case such person shall not be able to pay the said penalty, or forfeiture, he is liable to be sent to any frontier garrison of the state ; or to be committed to prison, or a work-house, for seven years ; and during that time be kept at hard labour. Their importation has been prohibited since the year 1788 ; not, however, without struggles in our legislature, respecting it. But, nevertheless, numbers of them have been introduced into this state, both by land and water ; and that smuggling, which Mr. Edwards, in his history of the West Indies, sagaciously predicted would happen in such case, has actually taken place in a great degree.† What the different importations of negroes, into this state, from time to time, may be, is not in my power to relate. But the census, which was taken of the population of this state in 1801, by direction of the federal government, gives us the number of them, about that time, amounting to 146,151 ; since

* *What a poor defence is this, if it should appear that these laws are never executed, these penalties never levied, these forfeitures never exacted !*

† *See Edward's History of the West Indies, 4to. vol. II. page* 115, 116. *And also page* 503, *et. seq. of the appendix of the same volume.*

which period, their numbers have no doubt increased, as well by births, as by smuggling.

'Had not this agricultural strength been furnished South Carolina, it is probable, in the scale of commerce and importance, she would have been numbered among the least respectable states of the union. At this moment, the extensive rice fields which are covered with grain, would present nothing but deep swamps, and dreary forests; inhabited by panthers, bears, wolves, and other wild beasts. Hence, the best lands of this state would have been rendered useless; while the pine lands, from their barren natures, although they might maintain the farmer, would have done little towards raising the state to its present importance. At its first settlement, the fertile lands, in the upper country, were not known; or if they were, surrounded by Indian nations, they offered no retreat to the calm exertions of the farmer; where wars interrupted navigation, and unopened roads would arrest from him the profits of his industry. But, should it be asked, why the swamps and low lands in the lower country, cannot be cultivated by whites, and without the labour of negroes? I would answer, these situations are particularly unhealthy, and unsuitable to the constitution of white persons: whilst that of a negro *is perfectly adapted to its cultivation*. He can, uncovered, stand the sun's meridian heat; and labour his appointed time, exposed to the continual steam, which arises from the rice grounds; whilst a white person could barely support himself under the shade, surrounded by such a relaxing atmosphere. He can *work for hours in mud and water, (which he is obliged to do in the rice culture, in ditching and draining,)* without injury to himself; whilst to a white this kind of labour would be almost certain death. Should these observations be founded on fact, (which it is believed they are) they sufficiently *justify* the present condition of this state, in the kind of property to which we immediately refer. And, while we lament the iniquitous passions, which originally introduced slavery into this state; it is with satisfaction we can assert, that their condition is far ameliorated to what it formerly was. They have their houses, their gardens, their fields, their dances, their holydays, and their feasts. And, as far as is consistent with our government, they enjoy privileges and protections, in some cases, superior to the poor whites of many nations; and in others equal to the mildest slavery in any part of the world. It may be said, this is still slavery. True. But, as was observed, it is preferable to the condition of the peasantry of some countries. How many tracts of land are there on this globe, whose inhabitants cannot boast as much good? How many thousands are there, who labour from morning until night, and from season to season, for at best a beggarly subsistence; whose tenure depends on the will of a prince, at once master of their

fortunes and liberties? With them the father may in vain attempt to raise up his son for his support and comfort; but when the time arrives, and with increasing years, he comes to useful manhood; he is torn from the presence of his parents, and the endearments of his relations; to swell the pageantry of a court—or to confound the liberties of his country.

'This is what may be seen on the theatre of human life; continually chequered with good and evil, happiness and misery. The philanthropist may seek perfection and happiness among the human race; but he will never find it complete. The philosopher may plan new laws, and new systems of government; which practice too often declares but the effervescence of fancy, and unequal to the end proposed. Nature, governed by unerring laws which command the oak to be stronger than the willow, the cypress to be taller than the shrub; has at the same time imposed on mankind certain restrictions, which can never be overcome. She has made some to be poor, and others to be rich; some to be happy and others to be miserable; some to be slaves, and others to be free. The subjects, or people, on which these principles are enforced, may be changed by industry, intrigues, factions or revolutions; but the principles can never be altered; they will shew themselves again, with the same force, on new subjects; unchangeable in their natures, and constant in their effects. So woods may be cut down, and the lands on which they grow may be made to produce grains, which nature never planted there. But withhold the hand of cultivation; and nature immediately causes weeds and plants to spring up again; and, in course of time, covers them with her dark retreats, and stately forests.'

"We have marked in italics the passages in this extract, on which the friend of negro *liberty* will be inclined to meditate. We should have been much better pleased with our author, if he had admitted the iniquity of the traffic, and urged these considerations rather to account for and excuse, than to *justify* the practice. Had he insisted on the enormous evils which would accrue even to the blacks themselves, from general or partial emancipation, rather than on the abstract right of the planters, to the persons of the blacks, as to the persons of their hogs and sheep, he would have gained a favourable audience, even with the greatest enemies of slavery, and have taken the *strongest* ground even with its friends."

Note No. 5.

EXTRACT from an Address on the subject of abolishing negro slavery, in the United States of America, dated, Philadel-

phia, January 13, 1804. Signed MATTHEW FRANKLIN, *President.* OTHNIEL ALSOP, *Secretary.*

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE *UNITED STATES.*

Fellow Citizens,

THE American Convention for promoting the abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, assembled for the purpose of deliberation upon such matters as relate to the design of their institution, believe it their duty to address you at this time; not with a view to descant on the horrours of slavery, or its incompatibility with sound policy, with justice, with morality, and with the spirit and doctrines of christianity; for besides that, the circumscribed nature of such an address, necessarily precludes lengthy animadversion, these are topics which have been so repeatedly and ably discussed, as to leave little room for additional argument or new illustration. The feelings and the judgment have been often addressed with all the strength of reason and the powers of eloquence, and although prejudice may blind the eyes of some, and avarice close the avenues of sensibility in others, we derive consolation from the assurance, that the wise and the good, the liberal and the considerate of all classes of the community, lament the existence of slavery, and consider it as a dark stain in the annals of our country. We do not even hesitate to believe that many who hold slaves by demise, acknowledge the injustice of the tenure; but perplexed in the contemplation of the embarrasment in which they find themselves, are ready to exclaim, "what shall we do with them?" We would willingly include these among the number of our friends, and entreat them to unite in the removal of an evil so justly and almost universally deplored.

"A principal object of our concern, is, to rouse the attention of the public to the continued—may we not say increasing necessity of exertion. We fear many have taken up an idea, that there is less occasion now than formerly, for active zeal in promoting the cause of the oppressed African: but when it is remembered that there are about nine hundred thousand slaves in our country! that hundreds of vessels do annually sail from our shores to traffic in the blood of our fellowmen! and that the abominable practice of kidnapping is carried on to an alarming extent! surely it will not be thought a time for supineness and neglect. Ought not rather every faculty of the mind to be awakened? And in a matter wherein the reputation and prosperity of these United States are so deeply involved, is it possible any can remain, as indifferent and idle spectators?

The gross and violent outrages committed by a horde of kidnappers call aloud for redress. We have reason to believe there is a complete chain of them along our sea coast, from Georgia to Maine. For the victims of this shocking business, they find a ready market among the southern planters.

To complain of injustice, or petition for redress of grievance, cannot be mistaken for rebellion against the laws of our country. We lament, therefore, the existence of statutes in the State of North Carolina, prohibiting individuals the privilege of doing justice to the unfortunate Slave, and to their own feelings, by setting him at liberty; and we learn with the deepest regret, that the State of South Carolina has recently repealed the law prohibiting the importation of slaves into that State. Such appears to be the melancholy fact; but we cannot restrain the involuntary question—Is this possible? Is the measure of iniquity not yet filled? Is there no point at which you will stop? Or was it necessary to add this one step to the climax of folly, cruelty and desperation? Oh, Legislators! we beseech you to reflect, before you increase the evils which surround you in gloomy and frightful perspective!

Beholding with anxiety the increase rather than the diminution of Slavery and its dreadful concomitants, we earnestly request the zealous co-operation of every friend to justice and every lover of his country. It is an honorable, a virtuous, and a humane cause in which we have embarked. Much good has already been effected, but much remains to be done; and under the divine blessing, may we not confidently hope, that, in proportion to the sincerity of our motives, and the temperate, firm and persevering constancy of our exertions, will be our success and peaceful reward? Those who live contiguous to the sea-ports, in particular, we wish may be stimulated to vigilence, that none of those shameful acts of atrocity adverted to, may elude deserved punishment: and our fellow citizens of the Eastern States are respectfully invited to pay attention to the clandestine traffic in slaves carried on from some of their ports. Such daring infractions of the laws of our country require prompt and decisive measures.

Many assertions have been cast upon the advocates of the freedom of the Blacks, by malicious or interested men; but conscious of the rectitude of our intentions and the disinterestedness of our endeavours, we hope not to be intimidated by censure from performing the part assigned us. We frankly own that it is our wish to promote a

general emancipation ; and, in doing this, it is our belief that we essentially promote the true interests of the state. Although many inconveniences may result from a general liberation of the people of colour ; yet those which flow from their continuance in slavery must be infinitely greater, and are every day increasing. It is, therefore, in our estimation, desirable that this object should be brought about with as much speed as a prudent regard to existing circumstances and the safety of the country will admit. But in all our endeavours for its accomplishment, we hope to move with care and circumspection. We pointedly disavow the most distant intention to contravene any existing law of the states collectively or separately.—We will not knowingly infringe upon the nominal rights of property, although those rights may only be traced to our statute books ; and while we desire to be supported in our endeavours to defend the cause of the oppressed, we hope that discretion and moderation will characterize all our proceedings. We feel with others the common frailties of humanity, and, therefore, cannot expect an exemption from errour. The best intentions are sometimes inadvertently led astray ; a lively zeal in a good cause may occasionally overleap the bounds of discretion : although, therefore, individuals may in some instances have suffered their zeal to exceed knowledge ; yet we repeat that the line of conduct which we approve and which is consonant with the spirit and design of our institutions, is in strict conformity with a due submission to existing laws and to the legal claims of our fellow citizens. On this ground we think we have a just claim to the countenance and support of all liberal minds—of all who delight in the real prosperity of their country and in the multiplication of human happiness.

We conclude in the expression of a hope, that the Supreme Disposer of events will prosper our labours in this work of justice ; and hasten the day when liberty shall be proclaimed to the captive, and this land of boasted freedom and independence be relieved from the opprobrium which the sufferings of the oppressed Africans now cast upon it.

Note No. 6.

If the reader wishes to trace the progress of reflection in the untutored mind of an African, by which he is sometimes induced to prefer death to slavery, let him peruse the elegant stanzas of Roscoe.

"From the thicket the man-hunter sprung,
My eyes echoed loud thro' the air ;
There was fury and wrath on his tongue,
He was deaf to the cries of despair.

Accurst be the merciless band
That his love could from Marraton tear ;
And blasted this impotent hand,
That was sever'd from all I held dear !

Flow, ye tears ; down my cheeks ever flow !
Still let sleep from my eye-lids depart !
And still may the arrows of woe
Drink deep of the streams of my heart !
But, hark !—on the silence of night,
My ADDELA's accents I hear ;
And mournful beneath the wan light,
I see her lov'd image appear.

Now sinking amid the dim ray,
Her form seems to fade on my view ;
O, stay thee ! my ADDELA, stay !
She beckons and I must pursue.—
To-morrow the white-man in vain
Shall proudly account me his slave ;
My shackles I plunge in the main,
And rush to the realms of the brave."

OTHER poets have expressed their feelings in the following strains.

From Guinea's coast pursue the lessening sail,
And catch the sounds that sadden every gale.
Tell, if thou canst, the sum of sorrows there ;
Mark the fixt gaze, the wild and frenzied glare,
The rack of thought and freezings of despair !
But pause not then—beyond the western wave,
Go, view the captive bartered as a slave !
Crush'd till his high heroic spirit bleeds,
And from his nerveless frame indignantly recedes. ROGERS.

Note No. 7.

Richmond, June 13, 1804.

" On Monday evening last, a negro girl about 12 years of age, was found dead in the house of a person who resides in this city. An inquest was held on the body of the deceased, and the verdict says, that her death was *probably* occasioned by the shameful chastisement which she had received.—We are informed, that the sight of the gashes produced by the whip, on the body of this unfortunate daughter of Africa, excited mingled emotions of detestation and horrour. The master of the house was taken on a warrant, the next morning, and examined before one of the city magistrates.—The evidence adduced on this occasion, was deemed insufficient to convict him of the crime ; and he remains for trial until the day of judgment.

" It is, on one hand, a duty incumbent on slaves to be obedient to their masters, while on the other it is the duty of masters to remember mercy. A man who can inflict punishment, being his own judge, and that in a degree sufficient to deprive a human being of life, must not only be one of the most detestable of all tyrants, but the most miserable of all human beings that exist upon earth."

Oh ! ye, who at your ease
Sip the blood-sweetened beverage ! thoughts like these
Haply ye scorn. I thank thee, gracious GOD !
That I do feel upon my cheek the glow
Of indignation, when beneath the rod
A sable brother writhes in silent woe. SOUTHEY.

Hear him ! ye Senators ! hear this truth sublime,
He who allows oppression, shares the crime. DARWIN

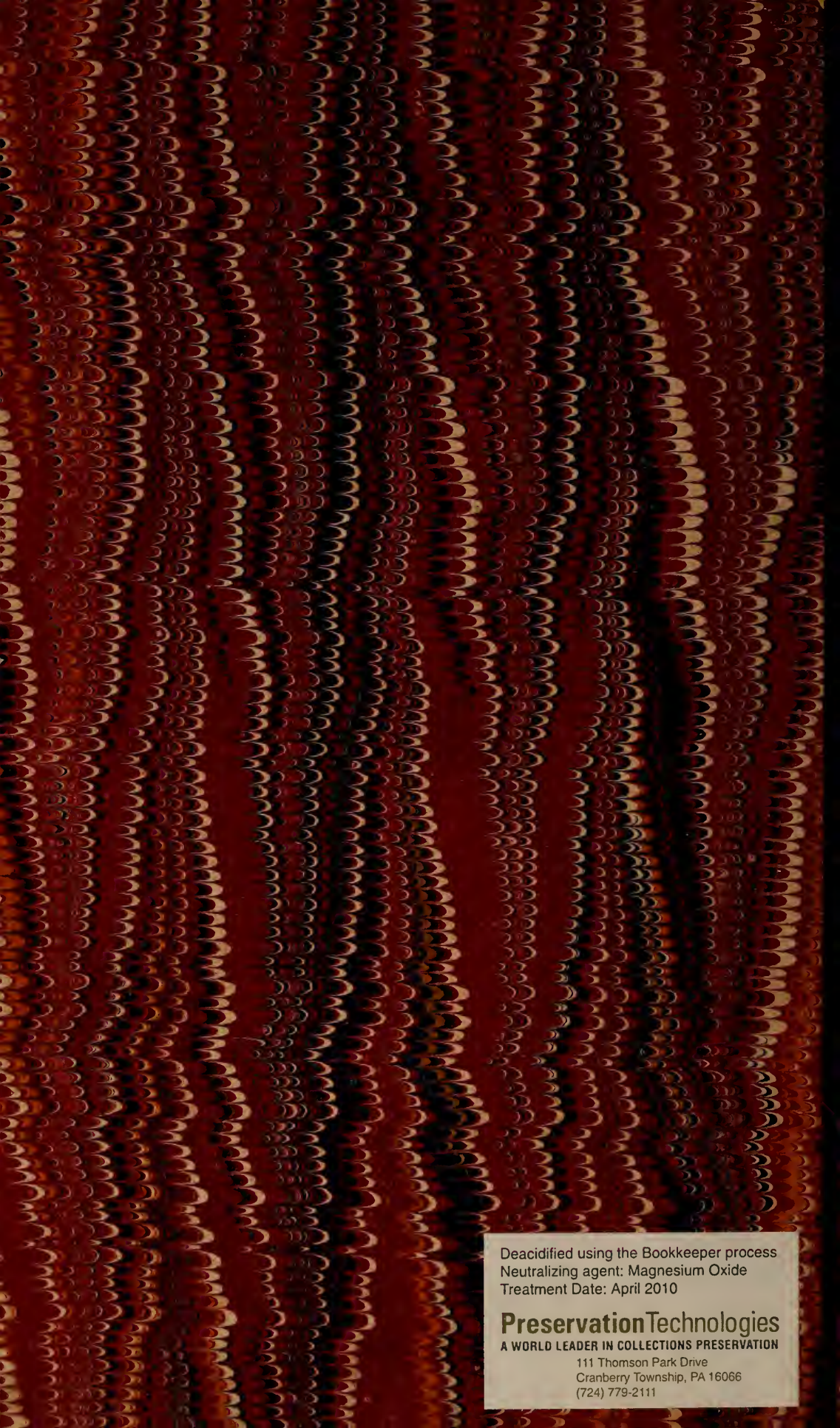
Yes, in that generous cause, forever strong,
The patriot's virtue, and the poet's song,
Still, as the tide of ages rolls away,
Shall charm the world, unconscious of decay.

Yes, there are hearts, prophetic hope may trust,
That slumber yet in uncreated dust,
Ordained to fire th' adoring sons of earth,
With every charm of wisdom and of worth.

And say, Supernal Powers ! who deeply scan
Heav'n's dark decrees, unfathom'd yet by man ;
When shall the world call down, to cleanse her shame,
That embryo spirit, yet without a name—
That friend of nature, whose avenging hands,
Shall burst the Lybian's adamantine bands ? CAMPBELL.

And sure, since Heav'n is just, the western skies
Shall see, ere long, some SPARTICUS arise,
To bid our slaves the christians' yoke disown,
And seize the land they labour, as their own.
Behold, the hero bursts oppression's bands,
The blood of ruffian's reeking on his hands !
Hark ! how he echoes Freedom's honour'd name,
And boasts how vict'ry vindicates his claim !
See, round their chief the jetty nation throngs !
What horrid vengeance answers all their wrongs !
Extermination steeps the trembling shore—
Europa's robbers lift the lash no more ;
Vindictive justice sweeps the race away ;
Our toil of ages perish'd in a day.

Lord GARDENSTON'S *imitation of* HORACE, *Lib.* 1. *Ode* 3.



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